

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LONDON 06737 01 OF 04 261343Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----261347Z 124272 /44
O 261430Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3057

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 06737

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FOR DELIVERY OPENING OF BUSINESS APRIL 26 FOR D-LAMB
FROM NYE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, TECH, MNUC, BR, GW
SUBJECT: MEMORANDUM FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY

REF: (A) LONDON 6664 (B) STATE 92297

1. PER CONVERSATION WITH KALICKI, FOLLOWING IS DRAFT
MEMORANDUM TO PRESIDENT ON "APPROACH TO GEISEL AND
SCHMIDT ON FRG/BRAZIL NUCLEAR DEAL".
2. BEGIN QUOTE: YOUR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH CHAN-
CELLOR SCHMIDT AT THE LONDON SUMMIT WILL PROVIDE A
CRITICAL OPPORTUNITY FOR YOU TO TRY TO OBTAIN HIS
COOPERATION IN LEADING BRAZIL TO A COMPREHENSIVE AND
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION OF THE NUCLEAR ISSUE.
THIS MEMO SETS FORTH A PACKAGE PROPOSAL, INCLUDING FOUR
SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS, FOR YOU TO COMMUNICATE FIRST TO
PRESIDENT GEISEL AND THEN, ONE OR TWO DAYS LATER, TO
CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IN THE COURSE OF THE LONDON SUMMIT.

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3. FRG ISSUANCE OF THE INITIAL SENSITIVE EXPORT
LICENSES HAS REDUCED PRESSURES ON BRAZIL TO RESPOND
CONSTRUCTIVELY TO OUR PROPOSALS. ON THE OTHER HAND,
OUR MODERATE REACTION TO THE ISSUANCE SPARED SCHMIDT A
MAJOR CONFRONTATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. IT IS
IMPORTANT THAT WE NOW BRING HOME TO SCHMIDT THAT OUR

FUNDAMENTAL CONCERNS REMAIN UNCHANGED AND THAT UNLESS WE CAN REACH A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE IN THE TWO YEARS PRECEDING THE NEXT CRITICAL LICENSING STAGE, WE WILL AGAIN FACE A CRISIS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. IN RECOGNIZING THIS, HE WILL BE UNDER CONSIDERABLE INTERNAL PRESSURE, INCLUDING FROM WILLY BRANDT, TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE TIME AVAILABLE TO US TO FIND A SOLUTION.

4. IN THE SHORT TERM, NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY GIVES US OUR ONLY READILY USABLE LEVERAGE WITH BRAZIL. WE ARE WITHHOLDING APPROVAL OF CONTRACTED FUEL FOR ITS U.S.-SUPPLIED NUCLEAR REACTOR, AND WE HAVE OBTAINED BRITISH AND DUTCH SUPPORT IN DEFERRING ACTION BY URENCO (THEIR URANIUM ENRICHMENT CONSORTIUM WITH THE FRG) TO FUEL SUBSEQUENT GERMAN REACTORS IN BRAZIL. HOWEVER, IT WILL BE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO HOLD OFF URENCO ACTION IN THE ABSENCE OF SUBSTANTIAL FORWARD MOVEMENT.

5. THE PROPOSALS WE RECOMMEND FOR YOUR USE WITH GEISEL AND SCHMIDT PRESERVE OUR FUNDAMENTAL OPPOSITION TO A REPROCESSING CAPABILITY IN BRAZIL. ON THE ENRICHMENT SIDE, WE WOULD ACCEPT CONSTRUCTION OF AN ENRICHMENT FACILITY STRICTLY LIMITED IN SCALE AND JOINTLY OPERATED BY BRAZIL AND THE FRG, SINCE WE SEE SOME ECONOMIC RATIONALE FOR ENRICHMENT AND BELIEVE THAT THESE CONSTRAINTS WILL LIMIT THE PROLIFERATION RISKS. OVER THE LONGER TERM, WE WOULD HOPE TO DEFLECT THE DEMONSTRATION PHASE OF THE PROJECT BY PROPOSING MORE ATTRACTIVE
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ALTERNATIVES, BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THIS SHOULD BE RAISED WITH SCHMIDT OR GEISEL AT THIS TIME. WE WOULD SEEK FULL BRAZILIAN ADHERENCE TO THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO WHICH WOULD REQUIRE COMPREHENSIVE APPLICATION OF IAEA SAFEGUARDS, AND BRAZILIAN COOPERATION IN BRINGING THIS TREATY INTO EFFECT IN A MANNER PRECLUDING ANY NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, WE WOULD SUPPLEMENT THE ENERGY COOPERATION PACKAGE, WHICH WE PROPOSED TO BRAZIL LAST MONTH, WITH AN OFFER TO ASSIST IN DEVELOPING HIGH TEMPERATURE REACTORS AND NON-SENSITIVE ASPECTS OF A THORIUM NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE ATTRACTIVE ELEMENTS IN THIS PACKAGE, PARTICULARLY THE THORIUM PROPOSAL BECAUSE OF BRAZIL'S VAST THORIUM RESERVES. WHILE THE SAFEGUARDS AND ENRICHMENT ASPECTS ARE PROBABLY NEGOTIABLE, BRAZIL IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO REJECT ANY SOLUTION DESIGNED TO

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3058

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DENY IT REPROCESSING CAPABILITY. OUR STRATEGY MUST
THEREFORE REST HEAVILY ON OBTAINING ACTIVE FRG COOPERA-
TION TO OBTAIN BRAZILIAN AGREEMENT TO DEFER REPROCESSING.

7. ATTACHED AT TAB 1 IS A PROPOSED LETTER FROM YOU TO
PRESIDENT GEISEL, FORMULATED IN THE MANNER WE THINK
LEAST LIKELY TO ELICIT A NEGATIVE RESPONSE. ATTACHED AT
TAB 2 ARE TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR USE WITH CHANCELLOR
SCHMIDT IN LONDON. WHILE WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT YOU
ALSO PROVIDE SCHMIDT WITH A COPY OF YOUR LETTER TO
GEISEL, THESE TALKING POINTS EMBODY A TOUGHER AND MORE
DIRECT EXPRESSION OF YOUR CONCERNS AND EXPECTATIONS. AS
INDICATED ABOVE, THE BASIC POINT HERE IS TO CONVINCE
SCHMIDT THAT HE MUST COOPERATE NOW TO FIND A SOLUTION IF
HE IS TO AVOID A LATER CONFRONTATION.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS: (1) THAT YOU SIGN THE LETTER
ATTACHED AT TAB 1 IN TIME FOR AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS TO
DELIVER IT BY MAY 6. (2) THAT YOU DRAW ON THE ATTACHED
TALKING POINTS IN YOUR MEETINGS WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT.
IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL FOR YOU TO MEET WITH SCHMIDT NOT
ONLY ON THE 8TH, BUT IN THE MARGINS OF THE NATO MEETING
ON THE 10TH SO AS TO GIVE HIM TIME TO GIVE YOU A CONSID-
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ERED RESPONSE BASED ON YOUR LETTER TO GEISEL.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE END QUOTE.

9. TEXT OF TAB 1 (DRAFT LETTER TO GEISEL) FOLLOWS.

BEGIN QUOTE:

CONFIDENTIAL

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

OUR CORRESPONDENCE SINCE MY TAKING OFFICE AND MY DEEP CONCERN OVER HALTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION ENCOURAGE ME TO SEEK DIRECTLY YOUR VIEWS ON AN OUTLINE OF A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION TO THE NUCLEAR ISSUE WHICH HAS PREOCCUPIED US OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS. I AM DEDICATED TO REACHING A SOLUTION BECAUSE I AM CONVINCED OF THE VALUE AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THAT RELATIONSHIP CANNOT FAIL TO BE ENHANCED IF WE CAN, BY A JOINT EFFORT TO BRIDGE OUR DIFFERENCES AND HARMONIZE OUR INTERESTS, ADVANCE OUR JOINT INTEREST IN THE SAFE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY.

MAY I ASSURE YOU, FIRST OF ALL, THAT I ACCEPT BRAZIL'S ASSURANCES ABOUT THE PEACEFUL USE OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. WE WOULD NEVER HAVE RAISED THE QUESTIONS WE DID ABOUT SOME ASPECTS OF YOUR NUCLEAR ENERGY PLANS WERE WE NOT DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRECEDENT THESE MIGHT SET FOR OTHER STATES. THE PROPOSALS WE MAKE ARE INTENDED TO DIMINISH ANY ADVERSE IMPACT ON THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER TO WHICH WE ARE BOTH FUNDAMENTALLY COMMITTED.

SINCE DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA, WE HAVE DEVELOPED FURTHER THE PROPOSALS MADE AT THAT TIME. IN SO DOING, WE HAVE GIVEN VERY CAREFUL AND SERIOUS ATTENTION TO THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS SET FORTH BY YOUR GOVERNMENT. WE SHARE YOUR GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT ANY SOLUTION MUST BE RESPONSIVE TO THESE REQUIREMENTS -- IN PARTICULAR, THAT

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THERE BE NO ABROGATION OF YOUR NUCLEAR ACCORD WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY -- AND THAT IT MUST BE NON-DISCRIMINATORY IN CHARACTER.

I HOPE THAT YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT THE PROPOSALS WHICH FOLLOW NOT ONLY MEET THESE REQUIREMENTS, BUT ARE POTENTIALLY MORE ATTRACTIVE THAN THE OPPORTUNITIES PRESENTLY AVAILABLE TO BRAZIL.

FIRST, WE WELCOME INDICATIONS THAT BRAZIL WILL CONTINUE TO ACT AS IF BOUND BY THE TREATY OF TLAHELCO.

JUST AS YOU HAVE RATIFIED THE TREATY, WE HAVE RATIFIED
PROTOCOL II AND, LAST MONTH, I COMMITTED US TO RATIFY
PROTOCOL I. I WOULD WELCOME YOUR CONFIRMATION THAT,
CONSISTENT WITH OUR POSITION ON THE TREATY, ALL OF
BRAZIL'S NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES WILL CONTINUE TO BE UNDER
IAEA SAFEGUARDS. OVER THE LONGER TERM, I SUGGEST THAT
OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS WORK WITH OTHER PARTIES TO THE
TREATY AND ITS PROTOCOLS TO BRING IT INTO FULL EFFECT.

SECOND, I PROPOSE THAT OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS EXPAND
OUR PEACEFUL NUCLEAR COOPERATION, WORKING WITH THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND PERHAPS FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES.
IN PARTICULAR, I SUGGEST THAT WE LAUNCH A COOPERATIVE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3059

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PROGRAM TO DEVELOP ADVANCED NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGIES
ASSOCIATED WITH THE THORIUM FUEL CYCLE AND HIGH TEMPERA-
TURE NUCLEAR REACTORS. GIVEN BRAZIL'S EXTENSIVE THORIUM
DEPOSITS, WE BELIEVE THAT THESE TECHNOLOGIES HAVE VAST
POTENTIAL FOR MINIMIZING YOUR DEPENDENCE ON OUTSIDE
ENERGY SOURCES.

THIRD, I ASK THAT YOU CONSIDER JOINING US IN DEFERR-
ING A FINAL COMMITMENT TO REPROCESSING. IN THIS, AS IN
OUR OTHER PROPOSALS, WE DO NOT ASK OF BRAZIL WHAT WE DO
NOT ASK OF OURSELVES. IN CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO MY
NUCLEAR POWER STATEMENT OF APRIL 7, WE ADVISED YOUR
GOVERNMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, ENVIRONMENTAL

AND SAFETY RISKS OF PLUTONIUM -- TRANSCENDING ITS DUBIOUS ECONOMIC BENEFITS -- WHICH HAVE IMPELLED THE UNITED STATES TO DEFER DOMESTIC REPROCESSING. DURING THIS PERIOD OF DEFERRAL, WE WOULD PURSUE AN INTERNATIONAL FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION PROGRAM WHICH WOULD CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO EXISTING AND FUTURE GENERATIONS OF NUCLEAR POWER. I HOPE THAT BOTH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS CAN TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN THIS PROPOSED PROGRAM, AND THAT IT WILL PROVIDE US AN OBJECTIVE BASIS ON WHICH TO COMPARE PLUTONIUM WITH ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES, SUCH AS URANIUM AND SECRET

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THORIUM.

FOURTH, IF WE CAN AGREE TO AN EQUITABLE AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY APPROACH TO THE REPROCESSING PROBLEM, I BELIEVE THAT A SOLUTION ON YOUR URANIUM ENRICHMENT PROJECT WILL FALL RAPIDLY INTO PLACE. UNDER THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF YOUR AGREEMENT WITH THE FRG, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS CAN BE ACCOMMODATED.

AS I AM SURE YOU WILL RECOGNIZE, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS RECENTLY MADE SERIOUS AND FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS TO REDUCE THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES, AND TO BRING ABOUT THE CESSATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING. I AM FIRMLY PERSUADED THAT THE NON-PROLIFERATION GOALS WE SEEK MUST BE SUPPORTED BY POSITIVE ACTIONS TO REDUCE AND ULTIMATELY TO ELIMINATE, EXISTING NUCLEAR WEAPON STOCKPILES.

THE FOUR-POINT SOLUTION PROPOSED ABOVE REPRESENTS SERIOUS EFFORT ON OUR PART TO TAKE INTO FULL ACCOUNT THE POSITIONS AND POLICIES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT. I HOPE THAT, IN TURN, YOU WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER THE SOLUTION IN THE SPIRIT IT WAS OFFERED -- TO ENHANCE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AT THE SAME TIME AS WE MOVE JOINTLY TO REDUCE THE RISKS OF NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE.

I BELIEVE THESE FOUR PROPOSALS REPRESENT, AS I STATED AT THE BEGINNING, AN OUTLINE OF A POSSIBLE COMPREHENSIVE AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. IF YOU AGREE I PROPOSE THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS ENGAGE IN MORE DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WITH A VIEW TO BRIDGING OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS.

MAY I ASSURE YOU, IN CLOSING, OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE WITH WHICH I VIEW THE POSITION OF YOUR COUNTRY, BOTH SECRET

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IN THE HEMISPHERE AND WORLDWIDE. WORKING TOGETHER AS
EQUALS, I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN MAKE MAJOR PROGRESS TOWARD
THE OBJECTIVES OF AN EQUITABLE AND STABLE WORLD ORDER.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JIMMY CARTER END QUOTE.

10. TEXT OF TAB 2 (CARTER/SCHMIDT TALKING POINTS)
FOLLOWS.

BEGIN QUOTE:

-- I HAVE RECENTLY WRITTEN TO PRESIDENT GEISEL IN A
SERIOUS EFFORT TO REACH AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE
NUCLEAR ISSUE.
-- I WISH TO GIVE YOU ON A VERY PRIVATE BASIS A COPY
OF THIS LETTER.
-- THIS LETTER CONTAINS NEW PROPOSALS WHICH I BELIEVE
REPRESENT AN EMINENTLY REASONABLE BASIS FOR A COMPREHEN-
SIVE SETTLEMENT. I TRUST YOU SHARE MY CONCLUSION.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3060

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-- IN COMPLETE CANDOR, HOWEVER, I CONSIDER IT UNLIKELY

THAT BRAZIL WOULD ACCEPT ON ITS OWN EVEN THIS PACKAGE.

-- WHILE I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN WORK OUT SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ENRICHMENT ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT, I REMAIN DEEPLY AND STRONGLY CONCERNED ABOUT ANY BRAZILIAN REPROCESSING CAPABILITY.

-- EVEN IF A BRAZILIAN CAPACITY TO PRODUCE PLUTONIUM WERE NOT AN IMMEDIATE THREAT TO OUR SECURITY INTERESTS, ITS PRECEDENTIAL IMPLICATIONS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE.

-- THEREFORE THE HEART OF MY STRATEGY, ON WHICH I NEED YOUR COOPERATION, IS TO CONVINCE BRAZIL TO ACCEPT A LIMITED DEFERRAL IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, TO GIVE US BOTH TIME TO PERSUADE HER TO ACCEPT MORE ATTRACTIVE ALTERNATIVES, INCLUDING IN THE THORIUM AND HIGH TEMPERATURE REACTOR FIELDS.

-- I REGRET THE ISSUANCE OF THE INITIAL LICENSES TO BRAZIL. IN THE INTEREST OF AVOIDING FURTHER CONFRONTATION, I CHOSE NOT TO PRESS THE ISSUE ONCE YOU ASSURED US THAT THESE DID NOT REPRESENT AN IRREVERSIBLE STEP.

-- YOU MUST UNDERSTAND THAT WE RAN SERIOUS POLITICAL RISKS IN MODERATING OUR REACTION SO AS TO AVOID EMBARRASSING YOU. YOU AND WE SHOULD ACT NOW TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE PRIVATELY IN A WAY WHICH OVERCOMES THE BASIC DANGERS.

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-- IN TURN, I NOW ASK YOU TO MAKE ACTIVE AND GOOD FAITH EFFORTS TO TURN BRAZIL AWAY FROM REPROCESSING.

-- IF WE FAIL IN THIS OBJECTIVE, I WOULD SEE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ASK THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO TAKE THE NECESSARY ACTION TO PREVENT A PLUTONIUM CAPABILITY IN BRAZIL. THIS COULD GIVE RISE ONCE AGAIN TO THE DIFFICULT STRAINS ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH WE HAVE JUST AVERTED.

IF ASKED ABOUT URENCO FUEL SUPPLY TO BRAZIL:

-- WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO FURTHER FUEL SUPPLY FROM THE U.S. FOR THE FIRST REACTOR, OR FROM URENCO FOR SUBSEQUENT REACTORS, IN THE CONTEXT OF MOVEMENT TOWARD THE ABOVE PACKAGE. END QUOTE.

11. FYI. DRAFTED - S/P:KALICKI - PM:OPLINGER. CONCURRENCE - OES:NOSENZO. (CASAGRANDE AND ELTZ ARE PREPARED TO REVIEW DRAFT FOR EUR AND ARA). END FYI. SPIERS

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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PARM, TECH, MNUC, PPDC, BR, GE, US, (SCHMIDT, HELMUT), (CARTER, JIMMY), (GEISEL, ERNESTO)
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